13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

cooked at the picnic place, and large quantities of other food will be eaten.

The *kai tunu* corresponds to the basket of food that figures so prominently in the church-suppers and socials of the white man. In Pangai it is contributed by arrangement for such occasions as an evening devoted to singing sacred songs; for an occasional gift to the pastor of the church, for a carpenter called in to repair the church structure; for the singing and dancing-parties which meet to practise many nights in succession before some large church conference or before the visit of a member of the royal family to Vava'u. If for a group, the food is laid out and eaten after the more serious business of the evening is finished; if for an individual, the food is taken to the household and there eaten in company with household members. It is unlikely that there would be any pork in any of these food-contributions. Possibly a bit of fish or chicken would be included, but mostly the food would be prepared from the regular vegetable staples.

On almost all occasions when the villager joins with his fellows for work or play food is served and eaten together. It symbolizes good fellowship (as when a large group is invited to a birthday-feast), token-payment for services rendered (as with a working-party), validation of a socially important contract (as in a marriage-feast), or it serves as a method of marking the arrival or departure of individuals who make up the social group (birth- and death-feasts). On all of these and on other occasions still, when food is served to the group, the satisfaction of hunger is of course important. None who have watched the villager eat at one of these feasts can doubt either his hunger or his capacity for consuming the largest amounts of food. Beyond this, however, the symbolic significance of the feast is not to be overlooked. The villager is certainly well aware that the feast transforms mere eating into an expression of the social values of the group.

One further type of food-distribution may be mentioned in this context; that is, a combination of a feast and food-distribution for a specific money-raising purpose. This is the feast termed *aho no*—"borrowing day" (?). It is held on any occasion when the householder wishes to raise a

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
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574 comparatively large sum of money for the purchase of a new
437 boat, a cart, or a house. Thus, Hausia wished to buy a large
432 Tongan-style house with an iron roof from its Pangai-born
262 owner who had left the village to live at Tongatapu. Hausia proposed to remove this house from its present site and
[435] erect it on his own house lot. The price of the house was fifteen pounds. Hausia had saved up five pounds. He wished to raise the rest of the purchase-price as soon as possible. He announced to the village that he would hold a food-distribution on a certain day. For this distribution he slaughtered all his pigs and one cow. He also prepared large quantities of food. On the day of the distribution, members of each Pangai household and visitors from all the nearby villages visited Hausia. They were given food to eat and a section of pork or beef to take home. In return each visitor
574 left with Hausia from two to four shillings as a gift towards
437 the price of the new house. At the end of the day, all Hausia's
432 food had been eaten, all his meat given away, but he had
431 acquired about twelve pounds in money. It may be noted that the villagers do not think of this transaction as a sale. They make a gift of money because money is needed. Hausia makes a return-gift of meat because it is a desirable food. By this gift-exchange, Hausia raises a substantial sum of money while villagers and visitors get plenty of food to eat and meat to take home.

Income and Expenditure

434 As will be evident from the following discussion, Pangai
511 operates today partly on a self-subsistence economy and partly on a money-economy. Food for the everyday diet is largely raised through gardening and does not involve the expenditure of money. Additional delicacies for a feast, however, generally necessitate recourse to the store. Money-
[432] economy is more importantly involved in the purchase of clothing, soap, kerosene, matches, and the like.

434 Perhaps the best way to show the manner in which this
511 money-economy is geared to the everyday life of the villager
592 is to present in some detail the income- and expenditure-accounts of two Pangai households.

Sesoni and his household (2 adults and 5 children) can very well be taken as representative of the average village

of the second group anything from 10s to £1 per year. Owing to various factors governing the export of Tongan bananas, not only from Tonga as a whole, but also from Vava'u in particular, these "most favourable circumstances" are more often conspicuously absent than inconspicuously present.

Two trading-stations are maintained in Pangai. They are owned by two of the trading-stores in Neiafu. The storekeeper of each station lives in Pangai. He draws a small monthly wage and is responsible for cash-sales at the station as well as the buying of green copra at prices set by the Neiafu principals, and the drying of this green copra on the station drying platforms. In 1938, according to figures supplied by the Neiafu owners of these two village-stations, about 115 tons of copra were produced by Pangai village. This was valued according to prices then ruling at about £430. The total village-income from copra production for that year was therefore about this sum. Again, according to figures given by the trading-stores, the cash sales for the year 1938 made by these two Pangai stations totalled just over £306.[15] This last figure does not, of course, cover the total store expenditure of the Pangai people. Some few of them occasionally go to Neiafu to visit friends or relatives. They then take the opportunity to spend what cash they have available in the larger stores where they can gaze upon shelves and shelves full of merchandise and groceries to their hearts' content and for the consideration of some minor purchase.

The two village-stations give credits according to the discretion of their managers. That this involves risks and necessitates good judgment is suggested by the fact that during the auction of the stocks and assets of one large store in Neiafu that had closed down, more than £1,000 worth of book debts were sold for £5. The opening bid was

[15] From the viewpoint of personality study we would still be interested to know why the Tongan manager of one of these village-stations produced at our request, and after the most herculean labours, an itemized account of store sales which purported to show that his store did a cash-business of well over £1,000 for the year 1938 when the books of the European owner of the business showed cash sales of £146! Very likely our good Tongan friend was dreaming of the day when he was going to be the owner of the largest store in Neiafu.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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5/-. It was only by tremendous effort that the auctioneer was able to increase the opening bid to twenty times its amount. This is not to be taken as implying in any way that Tongans are dishonest in money matters. They are just carelessly easy-going where money is concerned. Store-keeping in Tonga therefore, is perhaps fraught with more hazards than is usual elsewhere.

The itemized list of sales from the more reliable of the two native store managers in Pangai shows that about forty different articles were sold during the year. Table 9 shows the items of western European material culture that are significant to the culture of the Pangai villager today.

TABLE 9.—STORE SALES

Article	Percentage of Total Sales	Group Percentage of Total Sales
Canned meats	21	70
Flour	14	
Sugar	11	
Tobacco	10	
Piece-goods	7	
Soap	7	
Kerosene	5	20
Fishlines	5	
Fishhooks	2	
Canned fish	3	
Shirts	3	
Bushknives	2	
Matches, rope, crockery Singlets (vests), lanterns	Each item small	5
Spades, candy, blue Groceries (cocoa, canned milk, coffee, jam) Cotton thread Teething-powder	Each item very small	4
Ink, pencils, slate-pencils Buckets, tubs, umbrellas Needles	Each item smaller	1

This table lists materials and foods according to percentages based on volume of sales. This does not of course necessarily correspond to the value or status-position of these articles or goods in the lives of the villagers. Piece-

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 0U9 Tonga 0U9

241 can develop into important agencies for the country's economic 185 development.

241 Tonga differs most from other Pacific island groups in that European 423 planters play an insignificant role in its agriculture. It has been the [189] studied and consistent policy of the government to prevent the development of European plantations and the consequent growth of a native [563] proletariat. No one can buy land in Tonga, and leases to Europeans are severely restricted. Less than 1,700 have been granted, and nearly all of them are for commercial or residential sites. Only 24 are for agricultural purposes, and none for an area of more than two hundred [563] acres. These small plantations rely for their labour upon the 350 Solomon Islanders and Fijians resident in the Kingdom.

Tongan Trade

438 Commerce, particularly monetary commerce, is unimportant in a 438 land of subsistence farmers. Tonga has a considerable trade in such 437 local products as livestock, fish, vegetables, fruit, baskets, mats and tapa cloth, but it is largely unorganised and mostly on a basis 437 of barter. The Tongan needs money for few purposes other than 436 to pay his rent and poll tax, to subscribe to his church, and to purchase a few imported articles. The comparative unimportance of monetary [439] transactions is shown by exports per head amounting to only £2·9 [651] in 1938, imports per head to £2·4, and native taxes per head to £0·2.*

439 Imports, indeed, play a very small direct role in the Tongan standard of living. Nearly a quarter of them consist either of producers' materials —copra sacks, banana shooks, timber, cordage, and rope—or of goods which are largely for European consumption—tobacco, beer, spirits, [511] automobiles and benzine. The significance of the imports that enter

439 *Statistical summary of Tonga's Foreign Trade (Tongan Gazette).

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Year	Copra Exports	Average Price of Copra	Bananas	Other Exports	Total Exports	Total Imports
	£A	£A per ton	£A	£A	£A	£A
1933	105,028	9·2	—	9,419	114,447	86,007
1934	59,941	5·9	—	18,901	77,842	48,526
1935	79,003	6·6	—	11,708	90,711	68,782
1936	105,078	8·8	—	11,461	116,539	92,296
1937	158,133	13·1	4,128	2,359	164,620	137 365
1938	90,398	7·3	3,507	4,558	98,463	82,795
1939	64,545	6·1	12,026	3,249	79,820	79,696
1940	43,896	6·0	12,905	5,474	62,275	76,360
1941	25,548	6·0	24,179	6,732	56,459	71,943
1942	89,771	11·0	26,043	4,574	120,388	144,110

31· Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
OU9 Tonga OU9

9—Some Concluding Observations on Land Tenure in Tonga

There is no question that in legal conception the Tongan land tenure system is fundamentally individualistic in character. Land titles, which we saw refer to usufruct only, are granted in the name of individuals, not of social groups; and insofar as it is consistent with the provisions of the law, such individuals can and do enjoy their rights absolutely as individuals. They are at liberty to confer the benefits of those rights upon whom they please, provided it is not for profit and not upon an alien; and there is room for individuals to move from one *api* to another, again provided that certain conditions are satisfied.

But the law makes certain highly significant restrictions upon this individualism. For instance, one is denied the right of disposal of one's property—a feature normally associated with individual title. This provision hinders the development of an open market in land, and therefore denies the system the benefits of such a market. One such benefit is the ability of labour and/or capital to move freely between different pieces of land; this possibility is limited here. Such freedom of movement, moreover, is itself limited by the provision that one's *api tukuhau* and *api kolo* must be in the same locality. By and large this means that people can obtain land most easily only in the village of their fathers or, at any rate, in the *tofia* area of their own traditional chief (moving to a new area entails breaking new ground socially, economically and, in a sense, legally as well). Therefore, insofar as they follow the path of least resistance, they tend to be confined within such a *tofia* area; and insofar as this applies, the limiting proviso could potentially lead to unnecessary congestion in conditions of rapid population increase, and could also be a serious setback in a developing economy, for freedom of movement is an important condition for an economically efficient distribution of land.

From the economic point of view, therefore, such restrictions are bad. But such a stricture implies certain assumptions about economic organization which probably do not apply to Tonga. Indeed it could be argued that at the present stage of economic development in Tonga, the land tenure system has certain social advantages which probably more than outweigh the economic weaknesses. Thus it seems clear that apart from a strict and precise definition of the major concepts which govern the land tenure system, the land law of Tonga has made few really significant changes, and we have seen that some of these changes are not strictly recognised in social practice. The most important set of conditions (that which concern the relation of the landlord to his tenants), therefore, remain largely unaffected. The *tofia* holder still has, in practice, much authority with regard to the control and distribution of land; and the people's obligations to him in regard to social and economic service are still in force. But in addition, the chief now enjoys an extra income from the tax on land, and from the extra lands which he holds himself. In this way the land tenure system actually bolsters up the traditional political system by giving it powerful economic support. Moreover, through the provisions relating to inheritance, the system is brought into close relation with one of the most

575 adaptive, all the voluntary associations are task-oriented
575 groups formed for specific purposes. For example, there
437 was the Kautaha Fisi ('the Fiji Society'), which consisted of a group of fifteen women in Motulahi who had entered into an exchange relationship with a similar group in a village in Fiji. They gave woven pandanus mats, scented coconut oil, and tapacloth in exchange for wooden chests and mosquito netting. The arrangement had been set up through the mediation of a daughter of one of the Motulahi women, who was married to a Fijian and lived in the Fijian village. The arrangement lasted for a year and a half, during which period two exchanges were made; the second took place during the period of my fieldwork. I learned that three of the older women, who were the leaders of the kautaha, had participated in a Kautaha Fisi some years previously. They told me that they considered this sort of institution to be an excellent way of obtaining scarce and/or expensive goods in return for their own home-made
575 products. Another kautaha that I encountered in Motulahi
476 was a kau ngāue ('labor gang'), consisting of twelve men from the village who worked as a team on a construction
575 project outside the village. Yet another kind of kautaha
454 is the kautaha lī pa'anga ('savings association'), which may be organized for a variety of purposes. The one I knew in Motulahi consisted of six couples who kept a joint

575 account in the savings bank in Nuku'alofa. The group met
454 for a social evening once a month. On these occasions, each couple brought the amount of money that had been agreed upon at the preceding meeting, and then the total was deposited. The purpose of the kautaha was to ensure regular savings and to keep the money that was saved intact by having it deposited in a common account.[13]

575 2. The members of a kautaha are almost always residents
621 of the same village, and are usually further linked by ties
602 of kinship and/or membership in the same congregation.
794 Thus, five of the six couples in the kautaha lī pa'anga
[593] described above were related to one another as siblings; all were adherents of the same denomination (although not of the same congregation, as two of the member-couples
[437] were not resident in Motulahi). All the members of the
476 Kautaha Fisi were residents of Motulahi, as were all the members of the kau ngāue, and all but one of the men in the kau ngāue were members of the Free Wesleyan congrega-
[437] tion. The denominational affiliations and kinship connections among the women in the Kautaha Fisi are depicted in Figure 10.

575 3. Every member of a kautaha usually has a direct personal interest in pursuing the goals or purposes of the

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13 Morton describes the various forms that a kautaha lī pa'anga can take (1972: 83-85).

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

FIGURE 10

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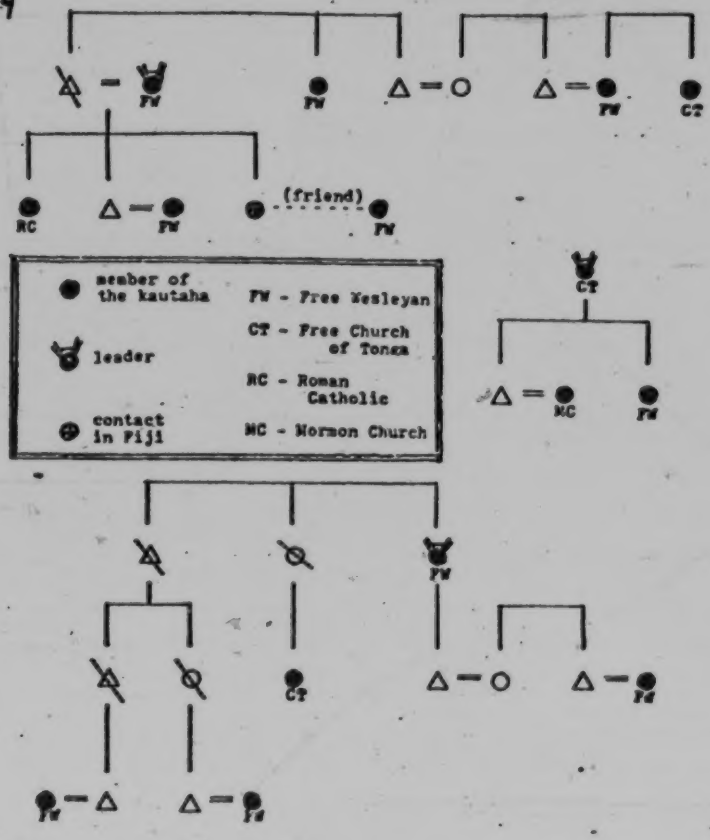
Denominational Affiliations and Kinship Connections

Among Members of the Kautaha Pisi



56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

drag her away the Man struck him. On this Fatafee immediately desisted & waited upon Capt[n] Cook with his Complaint: the man was called upon the quarter Deck & had nothing to say in his defence but that the Chief had no business with the Girl as he had paid for her. Capt[n] Cook told his people that he would suffer none of them upon any Account whatso[e]ver to strike an Indian except in their own defence, much more a Chief & he the 2[d] man on the Island. He then ordered the man to be seized up and flogged, on this the good natured Indian forgiving the man for the injury he had just received from him made strong intercession to Captain Cook to spare him, but it was in vain tho' Fatafee pleaded long & earnestly for him, such an outrage was by no means to be looked over and the man received a dozen Lashes & was obliged to deliver up his mistress who was sent ashore; and it must be confessed that in all disputes between our People & the Indians, Capt[n] Cook ever acted with the utmost Impartiality, being as ready to hear the Complaint of an Indian and to see justice done to him when injured, as he was to any of his own Men, which equitable way of proceeding rendered him highly respected & esteemed by all the Indians.

During our stay here we had a constant Intercourse with the Women both on board the Ships and on Shore, & the price was a Shirt or a Hatchet for the Night; they were brought to us & the Bargain made by their Fathers, Brothers or some Friend or Relation. Some of them followed us from Island to Island, many of the Annamooka Girls following us to the Happai Isles and afterwards to Tongataboo. They made shift before they left us of getting most of our Linnen from us, especially from those who were not rich in Hatchets. They are of a very amorous Complexion & highly deserving of what they got.

Before we left these Islands many of our people contracted that most grievous of all Curses the Venereal Disease, which has found its Way to these Islands & which in spite of every Care & Precaution will disseminate itself wherever an European goes. It was supposed by many that this Distemper was left here last Voyage by the Resolution & Discovery, tho' every Method that wisdom could suggest was taken to prevent it. We saw many who had venereal Ulcers upon them in different Parts & one or two who had lost the Nose. We met with many people who were afflicted with enormous Swellings of their Legs & arms, tho' otherwise in perfect Health, brisk & lively, this is taken Notice of by Tasman & called S[t] Thomas's Arm;[1] to prevent the swelling from extending to the fingers, they wear a string tight

[1] It was elephantiasis.

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

edges of each plank which are brought to join, thro which they are lash'd to one another. The large sailing Canoes are two single ones join'd together (but each of much larger dimensions than what we have describ'd) by strong rafters lash'd across, over these is built a platform or stage extending in length from the deck of one Canoe to the other, & in breadth projecting considerably beyond their sides; on the After part is placed a hut resembling a Cylinder divided lengthways & resting on it inside, or when a shed is placed on the side, it is a longitudinal section of the above hut; here sleeps the chief & his Women & here their Goods are stowd away. The Mast is short in proportion to the Vessel & placed in one of the Canoes, before the middle part, inclining forward & to the opposite side,[1] some fix'd & others made to unship; the Sail is tri-angular, the longest side fixd to a Yard about twice the length of the Mast & hoist'd up to it; the Sail has then an oblique direction, the broadest part uppermost, & ending in a point coming down with the yard a good way before the Mast almost close to the Stage. They have a stout boom, which they use as an outrigger, well secur'd by strong ropes from the Mast head & from each end of the Canoe: this, when it blows fresh & the boat heels, some of the Men go out & stand upon. The size of one of the largest I saw was about 70 feet long, the Extream breadth of one of the Canoes or boats about 3 feet & the depth 5½, the length of the Stage 30 feet & breadth 16½. The measure of a Sail of middling size, in that part fix'd to the Yard, between 50 & 60 feet; the broadest part of the Sail, or base, between 30 & 40 & the lower side from 45 to 50. These Canoes are of diff[t] sizes & will carry from 30 to 70 people. They have also single sailing Canoes with the outriggers very stout. The Tools with which they perform their works in Architecture & boat building are a stone Hatchet, an Augur made of Sharks teeth & rasp made of rough fish skin. . . .

Marriage. Whether Monogomy or Polygamy is the mode among these people we cannot positively say, or whether their engagements are binding, or attended with any ceremony or contract; the bulk of the people had only one Wife, but Powlohow & Feenow had several women, whether considerd as lawful wives or only one & the rest Concubines is a matter of doubt to us. It should seem from Powlohows having elder sons by other women than the one who is to succeed him, that some of his Women had a superiority over the others. Where a free intercourse with the Sex does not appear Criminal, & where there is little appearance of delicacy in their Amours, their Marriage Contracts are not perhaps binding; the Men are free from jealousy, & made no scruple of our having intimate Connexions with the Women, & they convert'd this intercourse to their advantage by fixing a price upon it; the Women when the Ship was here before were by no means backward on their parts; but now there is an evident disgust on their sides which however avarice gets the better of; by no means all the women are to be understood to be purchasd by our riches, all the married

[1] The foregoing details indicate that the canoes here described were *tongiaki*, not the Fijian-influenced *kalia*, with (for instance) the longer mast.

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

& many young women were impregnable, & I am pretty well convinced that the daughters of the Principal Chiefs did not at all appear, Perhaps from a dread of that terrible distemper which we have given them.

Religion. The religious tenets of a new people must always be the most difficult part to elucidate, superstition appears in such a variety of forms, as to make, with our little knowledge of their Language, their religion a very confus'd heap of nonsense; but as this is very interesting, we endeavourd to learn something satisfactory on this head. They appear to have little conception of future punishments & rewards; but as they believe they shall be punishd in this World for crimes committ'd, they use every method not to deserve it. Their Supreme being is a female as they relate, that commands the Skies, the Thunder & Lightning, & that in her displeasure she destroys their Country, their hogs, & inflicts them with diseases; We coud not perceive that they had any external representation of this invisible supreme being, but we judged that a good deal of what we heard at the Natche were prayers address'd to her by the Priest. They believe a Plurality of Gods, all inferior to the first; some preside over the Clouds & fogs, some over the Sea &c, &c & diff[t] Islands have different religions.[1]

They have juster Ideas of the immortality & immateriality of the Soul: they call it Otooa a divinity or invisible being, & say that on the death of a Chief it seperates from his body, & goes to a place calld Boolootoo,[2] the God of which is Gooleho;[3] & they say that we & the men of Feejee as well as themselves are subject to Gooleho; but their feigning that this place is to the Westward of Feejee & supposing an everlast[g] place to be on this Globe, shews they have but confin'd notions of distance & duration; in that place they imagine they shall never suffer death again but live in abundance, upon the like products of their own Country. The Chiefs will not admit the Souls of the common People to this Priviledge, but say that a great bird call'd Loata hovers over their Graves & eats them up....

TAHITI AND THE SOCIETY ISLANDS, AUGUST–DECEMBER 1777

[*Adm 55/116, ff. 100v–112*]

AUGUST 13th [1777]. We stood for Oaite-peha bay, but at 2 PM the wind fail'd us & we attempt'd towing in with the boats; towards the Evening we had baffling wind[s] from the land & after many trials were at last oblig'd to stand off for the night. As we approach'd this Island Omai become more & more an Object of our attention; his anxiety was equal to ours, & we were glad to observe him as he grew nearer, more thoughtfull; Capt[n] Cook had taken a great deal of pains during the Voyage to prevail on Omai to agree to some certain arrangement by which his riches would be secur'd to him, & his own consequence rais'd & preserv'd, but he woud never listen to any plan, except that of destroying the bora bora chiefs &

[1] Different gods, rather.
[2] Otua was a god, not a departed soul; a chief's soul went to Pulotu. [3] Hikuleo.

59: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

mother's generation. This activates a status principle already operative within the *kāinga*, in which ego may take what belongs to his mother's brother.

The economic implications of status within the system of exchanges among the *kāinga* can be characterized as indirect reciprocity, i.e., goods and services go from ego and his siblings to his patrilateral relatives, while he exacts goods and services from his matrilateral relatives.

SOCIETAL RANKING—CLASS

At the level of the society as a whole, there are two kinds of ranking. The first kind of societal ranking is class rank, which differentiates chiefs (*'eiki*) from commoners (*tu'a*). This is further refined in two ways. First, the most chiefly of chiefs is set apart and is known as the *tu'i* (or today, the King). Second, an intermediate class between chiefs and commoners is *matāpule*, who are ceremonial attendants to the chiefs. Thus the traditional class structure can be summarized as follows:

Tu'i: King;
'Eiki: Chiefs;
Matāpule: Ceremonial attendants;
Tu'a: Commoners.

Membership in one of the three classes (*'eiki*, *matāpule*, and *tu'a*) is ascribed by birth. A *matāpule* may be recruited from the *tu'a*, but the person selected usually has some genealogical tie to a *matāpule*. Marriage between an *'eiki* and a *tu'a* does not change the class of either, and their children are known as *ngesi taha* (one-shelled). Since European contact in the time of Tupou I (1875), the chiefly division of the society has been further divided to distinguish legal chiefs (nobles)from traditional chiefs. The nobles are the land holders and because of this have a great deal of power.[11] The other chiefs have only ceremonial significance and prestige because of their high birth, having descended from younger sons of former chiefs, nobles, and kings, or their daughters. The position of the traditional chiefs parallels the position of women in the *kāinga*, in that they have ceremonial status but no real power. What is important in the class system is the "blood" of both father and mother. It is possible, for example, to be a chief in the class system by virtue of genealogical chiefly connections, and to hold a *matāpule* title. The best known example of this is Tuita, who holds a *matāpule* title, but is a chief in the class system because of a series of marriages of the holders of the Tuita title to daughters of high chiefs. Such people are known as *mu'a 'eiki* (or simply *mu'a*) to show that they are *matāpule* by title but chiefs in the class system.

SOCIETAL RANKING—*Ha'a*

In the second kind of societal ranking, titles are ranked. The titles of chiefs originated by a process of collateral segmentation starting from the first Tu'i Tonga. The *matāpule* titles originated either when the individual

to the use of land. For every two householders with 'api tukuhau there was a further householder who was sharing land with a relation. The situation with regards to 'api kolo demonstrated the social significance of land still further—a third of the householders were sharing the 'api of relations.

Just as no village family could rely entirely on subsistence agriculture, few families in the town could rely entirely on wages. The town's economy, like the traditional peasant economy outlined by Franklin,[18] is labour and not capital intensive, kin relations serve a socio-economic role and there is a close attachment to the land. It would be erroneous to talk of per capita income in Tonga; the important consideration is family income. Although not entirely controlled by the head of the household as chef d'entreprise, the broad direction of spendings earned by members of a family is the concern of all the family, especially so in times of crisis or investment in education. And the families, though nuclear by residence, are extended in terms of mutual recognition of services and obligations.[19]

It would not be fakatonga, the right behaviour in terms of respect within Tongan society, to deny a relation access to land, residence, employment or a share in family success. If these are characteristics of a peasantry, one can only say that they are common to all of Tonga, rural and urban. Town dwellers are inescapably bound up with the land. They own it as much as villagers, they rely on it to supplement wages kept low on the assumption of an additional income from agriculture, they value it as a means of fulfilling family obligations and as a measure of their social importance and they depend on it for food. There would be few established household heads, even the most wealthy and the most "urbanised", who do not have a son or relation on their land or on land acquired through their influence. It is the function of a successful household head to find employment for as many of his family as possible. The labour commitment is total and the basic unit of economic organisation is the family, controlled and directed at least to some extent by the household head.[20] A typical family would endeavour to have some member in paid employment, some on the land and some in the "bazaar" sector of the town's economy—a small grocery shop, in the making of handicrafts and other side-line businesses. This diversity in family employment provides material security in an economy which offers insufficient full wage employment; it also indicates the economic obligations borne by the chef d'entreprise towards his kin.

It should be clear that everyone in Tonga is to some extent involved in a money economy, the town dweller somewhat more than the villager but this has not yet led to any noticeable individualisation. There is little evidence of individuals trying to opt out of reciprocal

kin obligations and there is even a reluctance to accept payment for many jobs. Carpenters interviewed indicated that they were often called upon to effect out-of-work repairs and to assist with house construction. None accepted any money payment for their services. Even those Tongans who do accept payment from other Tongans invariably put the onus of ascertaining the price on the receiver of services, thus keeping the relationship within a gift context similar to that enjoyed between kin. This apparent lack of money consciousness, which is not as naive as it sometimes appears, is also seen in the running of kava clubs and kautaha koko'anga, associations of women who make tapa cloth. When these community groups accumulate profits there is little evidence of saving and none of investment motivation. Money is to meet basic and usually immediate needs; it enhances one's respect only when it is used and shared among kin. Accumulation is pointless when one has so many poor relations.

The political organisation of the town is identical to that of the villages except, of course, for the presence of the central government. Ma'ufanga is part of the tofi'a of a noble while Kolomotu'a and Kolofo'ou belong to government. A town officer is responsible to government for each of the town's three villages. At monthly fono these officers inform taxpayers of the government's intentions but there are few laws which apply exclusively to the town. Nuku'alofa is thus perceived and governed as three villages over which the government rules in a manner similar to that of the chiefs of old. Most leadership within the town, whether elected or nominated, is determined along lines of rank and position common to traditional Tonga. While chiefs without government posts have lost some prestige, those with high government posts who do not have chiefly connections are rare indeed.

At the beginning of this discussion it was suggested that the inhabitants of Nuku'alofa meet few challenges peculiar to an urban environment and that most rural and Tongan attitudes are carried over into the town with little or no modification. Its very "ruralness" enables urbanisation to proceed with so few signs of stress. It would, however, be false to assume that the town exerts no new pressures on the rural migrant. Some of these are really rural pressures intensified in an urban setting. It is, for instance, the increased shortage of land and employment, made worse by the rural influx, together with the greater opportunities presented by the town which has been largely responsible for the increase of crime. This is seen in a recent statement by the Director of Education:

> "There is a most dangerous situation developing in the town of Nuku'alofa and within its precincts. Unemployment is rising rapidly. During the next ten years 1,400 employees will retire

[181 cont.]

648 because a fray had happened between the natives and our people. We joined
721 him in a few minutes, and found with him the captain, and a file of marines,
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519 together with two natives, who sat on their hams, and from time to time pronounced the word wòa, which signifies "friend." We supposed that the theft of Mr. Clerke's musket had given occasion to this disturbance; but this was too trifling a circumstance to be resented. The cooper, in mending the water-cask, was not sufficiently attentive to his adze, and one of the natives had snatched it up, and conveyed it away. The captain, in order to recover this valuable instrument, of which however there were no less than a dozen in the ship, ordered his people to seize several large double canoes, which had probably arrived from different adjacent islands. They performed his command, and Mr. Clerke's gun was brought back by the astonished
648 natives. But this was not sufficient, and another canoe was seized. A
721 native, who stood upon it, defended his property, which he had forfeited
164 by no offence, and took up a spear, which he seemed resolved to employ
175 with good effect. Captain Cook levelled his musket at him, and bid him lay [182] down his arms. He refused, and received a load of shot through his wrist and thigh, at the distance of eight or nine yards, which immediately
648 brought him to the ground. The volley was now fired, and a boat sent off
721 to the ship, where three cannon directed against the highest point of the
175 island, were fired off one after another. It was thought that the natives would now have left us; but a great part still remained on the beach conscious of their innocence, and some canoes continued to ply about the
648 ship. The behaviour of one of the natives upon this occasion was so
721 remarkably stoical, that our people could not help taking notice of it.
439
487 He had a small canoe in which he always met the other canoes before they
175 reached the ship, took out what he liked, and paid their owners, a certain

?[sic! --- Analysis]

[182 cont.]

648 small price in European goods, which he had before obtained by
721 barter. With his new cargo he returned to the ship, and always made
439 a considerable profit upon his bargain. As he never failed to visit
437 each canoe, our sailors called him a Custom-house officer. He was
175 lying close to the ship, bailing the water out of his canoe, when the guns were discharged not two yards over his head. Notwithstanding the extraordinary concussion at so short a distance, he never once looked up, but continued to bale, and afterwards to trade as if nothing had happened.

We had not long rejoined the captain and his party when the unlucky
648 adze was brought back, which had [183] been the occasion of so much
175 mischief. A middle-aged woman, who seemed to have great authority, had dispatched some of the people after it, and they returned at the same time a cartridge-box, and Mr. Patton's fowling-piece, which
[482] appeared to have been concealed under water. The wounded man was brought to us on a piece of wood carried by men. He seemed almost without sensation; and was set on the ground, whilst the natives gradually returned, and began to take courage. The women in particular, were very desirous of restoring the general tranquility, and their timid looks seemed to charge the behaviour of the strangers with cruelty. They seated themselves on a fine green turf, in a group of fifty or more together, and invited several of us to sit by them. Each of them had some shaddocks, which they broke in pieces, and distributed
142 to us with every mark of kindness and peace. Mr. Patton's friend
175 was one of the foremost, and indeed claimed the first rank among the beauties of those islands. Her nature was graceful, and her form exquisitely proportioned. Her features were more regular than any I

437 431 443 Persons providing services and vendors of crafts and food frequently try to keep their transactions on a gift-exchange basis so that the transaction is understood to be two persons giving each other gifts rather than one principal paying the other. The "seller" benefits in two ways from this type of transaction: he at least partially avoids being identified as a "business-boy" and he often materially benefits because the return gift is above what could be asked as a price. In this type of transaction the measurement function of money is disregarded, unless the return gift is considered too small. Handicrafts are often [439] sold by this method, befuddling tourists who wish to equate a unit of money with a certain amount of merchandise.

437 432 Transactions involving money are fakatau transactions. 'To sell' is fakatau atu, atu meaning 'away' or 'from'; 'to buy' is fakatau mai, mai meaning 'toward'. 'To pay' is totongi and as a noun means 'price'; mahu'inga also means 'price'.

431 Anything given (foaki) without explicit expectation of a return is a gift (me'a'ofa) which literally translated means 'thing of love'. At times gifts are legitimately solicited by request (kole) but built into such a request is the implicit understanding that the solicitor must be ready to meet a future request of the person from whom he has solicited. [554] There is more prestige in giving than in receiving and one who is al- [558] ways asking for gifts without returning the favor suffers loss of prestige, but he does not usually lose his right to keep making requests. This mode of transaction is by far the most frequent non-monetary type and is a form of what Sahlins calls "generalized reciprocity" (1965: 147).

431 Such a transaction is a process in which the gift can be either solicited or offered, but solicitiing a gift implies a stronger obligation to reciprocate than does a gift freely offered.

426 Borrowing is based on the same transaction as just discussed and is only distinguished by the fact that the item solicited is returned. The Tongan verb nō is translated as 'to borrow'. This is the mode of transaction which plays a dominant role in the circulation of durable and/or capital goods such as gardening tools, looking utensils, and fishing paraphernalia.

Another from of borrowing is a collateralized loan. Fakamo'ua is and type of loan but is primarily used to describe a loan backed by collateral; it is also the term used for a charge account in the context of market transactions. The collateralized loan is a relatively rare form of transaction but an example is as follows: Palu needed a pig to meet his obligations for the funeral of a high ranking relative. He had no pigs at that time so he went to his neighbor and asked to borrow one. The neighbor agreed to loan Palu a pig, but only if Palu would agree to bring two tapas and also pay $T10.00 at the end of a month. Palu agreed, brought the tapas, and took the pig. At the end of the month he paid his neighbor the agreed amount for the pig and reclaimed his tapas. This form of transaction is obviouly based more on distrust than trust and is, therefore, antithetic to the principles involved in most reciprocity transactions.

437 438 Balanced reciprocity or trade is also a rather rare form of transaction and is almost completely limited to the context of group exchange.

437 438 628 Group exchanges between villages are fairly common late in the year and women are always the major participants. A group of women (kautaha fefine) will form several months before the exchange and begin preparations; usually this involves the production of handicrafts or raising money to purchase the desired items. The details of the exchange are most likely arranged by a person or persons with kinsmen in the other [574] village. The exchange takes place in the context of a visitation with feasting and singing being important ingredients.

These group exchanges also seem to take on the function of providing rural isolated villages with items available through the market economy and providing groups from urban areas with more traditional forms of wealth to which they no longer have unlimited access. Couper (1968) [171] found this pattern to be strongly developed in Fiji where urban dwellers were providing their country-kin with Western items and receiving traditional, indigenously produced goods.

437 438 177 628 In Tonga I was only able to record detailed information on one such exchange. The exchange involved a village near Nuku'alofa, Tongatapu, having high access to Western goods and a village in the Ha'apai group, which is one of the more isolated areas in the Kingdom. The Tongatapu [574] group made the one-day trip by boat to Ha'apai and stayed for four days. At the conclusion one of the women from Tongatapu married a Ha'apai man, but that is not a typical feature of group exchanges.

The Tongan term for 'trade' is fefakatau'aki, or 'to trade' is fai fakatau. The items being traded are termed kātoanga, kātoa meaning 'all' or 'the entirety'. The exchange usually takes place outdoors and the

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two groups of goods are stacked on the ground. Speeches are appropriate before the exchange with each group praising the offerings of the other.

Below I have listed the items exchanged on the occasion mentioned earlier.

Tongatapu Village Gave	Ha'apai Village Gave
300 sheets of 9-foot corrugated iron	11 40-foot fibu 'fine mats'
21 full length tapas	24 15-foot " "
24 bars of laundry soap	38 12-foot " "
1 box of cabin biscuits	29 10-foot " "
1 sewing machine	67 single thickness mats
12 dinner plates	40 papa 'floor mats'
2 bed covers	8 ta'ovala 'woven waistbands'
piece goods	200 salt fish
$T26.00 in cash	2 goats

With the exception of the tapa given by the Tongatapu group, all of their goods were non-traditional items available through the market economy. All of the Ha'apai goods were indigenously produced, and the bulk of the goods were fine mats, a traditional item of wealth and prestige.

Redistribution

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First fruits (polopolo) are given to nobles and high ranking female relatives, both sisters and fathers' sisters. This is particularly appropriated at the time of the first harvest of a yam garden (pa'ala),

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but also for other garden products, fish, and meat. In pre-contact Tonga a society-wide system of redistribution was based on the giving of first fruits, collected and dispensed at an annual religious ceremony

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(Sahlins 1950: 24-25). In modern Tonga redistribution exists in the

CHAPTER VI

IDEOLOGY AND BEHAVIOR

128 121 In this chapter I will present the conscious model of kinship reciprocity and compare it with the patterns of reciprocity I observed in adoption transactions and in the transfer of material items. The procedure will be to describe the conscious model, see if it is predictive of behavior, and then discuss the results of such a comparison.

The Conscious Model

602 554 The basic characteristic of the conscous model is that it describes the rights and duties existing between ego and the several kin categories, and bases the distribution of rights and duties on the concept of

602 554 114 kin ranking. Although the conscious model I present here is based on primary data that I obtained, other researchers in Tonga have noticed and recorded similar data. E.W. Gifford (1929: 17-19) discusses the effect of relative ranking on behavior, Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole discusss some implications of kin ranking for kinship reciprocity (1941: 76-78), and Adrienne Kaeppler, after discussing kinship rank, said

(612) (431) (437)

> The economic implications of status within the system of exchanges among the kāinga can be characterized as indirect reciprocity, i.e., goods and services go from ego and his siblings to his patrilateral relatives, while he exacts goods and services from his matrilateral relatives (1971: 179).

However, none of these researchers has presented any data on exchange that would indicate whether the conscious model is actually reflected

602 554 (114) by behavior or not.

Below I have listed the kinship dyads and described the ideal behavior for each dyad as it exists in the conscious model. The kin terms are defined and discussed in Chapter III.

602 554 183 431 439

Fa'e-Tama: A woman should treat those she refers to as tama in a protective and loving manner; she should look after their physical and emotional needs with only tama's well-being in mind. In return tama should behave in a loving and respectful manner toward fa'e. Women should not punish tama with more than mild physical abuse. Fa'e is of lower rank than tama and the flow of goods should be from fa'e to tama.

Fa'e Tangata-'Ilamutu: 'Ilamutu has an almost unrestrained access to the goods and services controlled by fa'e tangata, and may act in a demeaning and overbearing manner toward him. Fa'e tangata should submit to the demands of 'ilamutu. Fa'e tangata is of lower rank than 'ilamutu and the flow of goods and services should be from fa'e tangata to 'ilamutu.

Tamai-Foha: Tamai is responsible for the moral welfare and direction of foha; toward that end he demands respect and obedience of foha. This relationship is marked by several prohibitions which indicate a discouragement of familiarity between the principals. Foha cannot wear the clothing of tamai, cannot use his personal possessions, must not eat from the same serving of food, nor sleep on tamai's bed. Foha should not stand to speak to a tamai who is sitting, and should not interrupt tamai while he is speaking to others. The flow of goods and services should be from foha to tamai.

(784)

602 554 183 431 437 Tamai-'Ofefine: This relationship is generally the same as tamai-foha except tamai should be less severe toward 'ofefine than toward foha. The flow of goods and services should be from 'ofefine to tamai.

Mehekitanga-Fakafotu: Mehekitanga should always be shown respect; she is ego's highest ranking relative. Mehekitanga is responsible for teaching fakafotu respect and appropriate Tongan custom. Familiarity is strongly discouraged between fakafotu and mehekitanga. Any time that fakafotu catches fish, harvests his garden, or kills a pig, he should give mehekitanga a portion. The flow of goods and services, then, is from fakafotu to mahekitanga.

Tokoua-Tokoua: This relationship is more complicated than other kin dyads because ego's tokoua may be either above him or below him in rank. The key to ego's relationship with his tokoua is the relative rank of the connecting, consanguineal link so that tokoua related patrilaterally are higher ranking than ego, and those related matrilaterally are of lower rank than ego.

602 554 593 183 431 437 Ego should defer to FZC and FBC, and MSC and MBC should defer to ego. Tokoua of the same parents are ranked relative to each other according to age, but the ideal flow of goods and services within the sibling group is balanced. Younger siblings give to older siblings because of relative rank but older siblings are obligated to assist younger siblings also. In this relationship, then, the direction specified for material flow is from matrilateral tokoua to ego to patrilateral tokoua.

602 554 183 431 437 [784] Tuofefine-Tuonga'ane: Tuonga'ane must show respect toward his tuofefine and several prohibitions exist in this avoidance relationship. Tuonga'ane cannot sleep in the same house as their tuofefine, they cannot speak of sexulaly-related matters, and tuonga'ane and tuofefine should not walk or talk alone together. Physical affection should not [593] be present in this relationship. Boys and men are responsible for the welfare of the sisters and should willingly assist them with labor and goods. So the flow of goods, then, is from tuonga'ane to tuofefine.

Kui-Mokopuna: This should be a relationship of mutual understanding and affection. There are no special restrictions or avoidances, and no direction of reciprocity is specified.

602 554 431 437 This scheme of reciprocity as set forth in the conscious model is in one sense not reciprocity at all. That is, if only the flow of goods and services between individuals is considered, the flow is very much in a one-way direction. However, if the entire kindred of each ego is considered, a balance emerges where at least in theory ego would have as many persons to receive from as to give to. In the conscious model of kin reciprocity, then, ego is the center of an activity system in which decisions concerning the flow of goods and services are ideally made according to ego's kinship rank relative to other individuals within 128 the system. Now I will present the patterns of behavior actually present within that system by using the data recorded in observing the exchanges of goods and in the exchanges of children.

Comparison of Ideals and Behavior

602 431 437 The conscious model pertains only to the flow of goods between kinsmen, and in the sample of exchange events involving material items, sample B, there are 267 events in which exact genealogical information could be recorded. This sample is presented in Table 18.A The adoption [597] transactions provide another sample of 81 exchange events. In Table 19B both samples are presented in percentage figures to facilitate comparison.

128 In Table 19 each kin dyad is presented and the direction of flow of goods and children is indicated. Where (I) appears in the table, it marks the ideal direction of exchange.

Now I want to discuss each dyad in turn and will do so by referring to the number corresponding to the dyad in Table 19. In dyad number one 602 431 437 183 597 the flow of goods is predominantly in the ideal direction, but all adoption transactions involving this relationship are in the opposing direction. For the adoption transactions the demographic fact that the tama in these transactions would be the only ones in possession of young children almost precludes exchange of children in the ideal direction.

In dyad number two which is the 'MB'-'ZC' relationship, there is a lower frequency than one would expect, yet this relationship is one in which exchange in the ideal direction is of paramount importance in the conscious model. The conscious model does not specify number but it does seem to imply a high frequency. The ideal direction of exchange does not predominate in a comparison with the opposing direction. The cases of adoption involving this relationship are too few to come to any conclusion except to note that this dyad is not frequently involved

A [See pp. 108-110--Analyst] B [See pp. 111-112--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 113]

TABLE 18

Exchanges of Goods by Genealogical Ties

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Relationship of Giver to Receiver	Kin Category of Giver	Number of Exchanges	Percent of Exchanges	Kin Category of Receiver	Conforms to Conscious Model
B	Tuonga'ane	22	7.0	Tuofefine	+
FBS	"	1	.3	"	+
FZS	"	5	1.6	"	+
MMBSS	"	1	.3	"	+
BS	Fakafotu	1	.3	Mehekitanga	+
FBSS	"	1	.3	"	+
FBD	"	1	.3	"	+
FZSS	"	1	.3	"	+
ZS	Tama	2	.6	Fa'e	+
FZDS	"	1	.3	"	+
S	"	1	.3	"	+
Z	Tuofefine	35	11.2	Tuonga'ane	-
FBD	"	1	.3	"	-
FFBSD	"	1	.3	"	-
MBD	"	3	1.0	"	-
BS	Foha	7	2.3	Tamai	+
FBSS	"	1	.3	"	+
S	"	4	1.3	"	+
BD	'Ofefine	3	1.0	"	+
D	"	13	4.2	"	+
ZS	'Ilamutu	10	3.2	Fa'e Tangaga	-

TABLE 18 (Continued)

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Exchanges of Goods by Genealogical Ties

Relationship of Giver to Receiver	Kin Category of Giver	Number of Exchanges	Percent of Exchanges	Kin Category of Receiver	Conforms to Conscious Model
ZD	'Ilamutu	1	.3	Fa'e Tangata	-
MBDD	"	1	.3	"	-
F	Tamai	11	3.5	Foha	-
FB	"	7	2.3	"	-
FFBS	"	1	.3	"	-
F	"	20	6.4	'Ofefine	-
FB	"	2	.6	"	-
FZ	Mehekitanga	1	.3	Fakafotu	-
FFZD	"	1	.3	"	-
FMZD	"	1	.3	"	-
M	Fa'e	7	2.3	Tama	+
MZ	"	8	2.6	"	+
MMBD	"	1	.3	"	+
MMZD	"	1	.3	"	+
MB	Fa'e Tangata	6	1.9	'Ilamutu	+
MFZS	" "	2	.6	"	+
FM	Kui	2	.6	Mokopuna	ns*
FF	"	1	.3	"	"
FFB	"	1	.3	"	"
DS	Mokopuna	1	.3	"	"

TABLE 18 (Continued)

Exchanges of Goods by Genealogical Ties

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Relationship of Giver to Receiver	Kin Category of Giver	Number of Exchanges	Percent of Exchanges	Kin Category of Receiver	Conforms to Conscious Model
B	Tokoua	31	10.0	Tokoua	ns*
FZD	"	1	.3	"	-
Z	"	17	5.4	"	ns*
FBS	"	8	2.6	"	-
FZS	"	5	1.6	"	-
FFBSS	"	1	.3	"	-
MBS	"	1	.3	"	+
MZS	"	4	1.3	"	+
MFBSS	"	1	.3	"	+
MMZDS	"	2	.6	"	+
MBD	"	1	.3	"	+
MZD	"	2	.6	"	+
MFZDD	"	1	.3	"	-
Total		267	100.0		

* Not specified by conscious model

TABLE 19

Summary of Comparison of Conscious Model with Exchange Behavior*

Dyad and Direction		Frequency of Material Exchanges	Frequency of Adoption Transactions	Total for Dyad (Material)	Total for Dyad (Material)	Behavior Conforms to Conscious Model (Material)	Behavior Conforms to Conscious Model (Adoptions)
1. Fa'e - Tama	(I)**	7	0	8	34	+	+
Tama - Fa'e		12	34				
2. Fa'e Tangata - 'Ilamutu	(I)	4	1	7	1	-	+
'Ilamutu - Fa'e Tangata		4	0				
3. Foha - Tamai	(I)	4	0	12	0	-	0
Tamai - Foha		7	0				
4. 'Ofefine - Tamai	(I)	6	0	14	0	-	0
Tamai - 'Ofefine		8	0				
5. Fakafotu - Mehekitange	(I)	1	5	3	5	0	+
Mehekitange - Fakafotu		1	0				
6. Tokoua - Tokoua (Real)		18	24	18	24	0	0
" " (Paternal)		6	0	10	3	-	+
" " (Maternal)	(I)	4	3				
7. Tuonga'ane - Tuofefine	(I)	11	24	26	33	-	+
Tuofefine - Tuonga'ane		15	9				

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TABLE 19 (Continued)

Summary of Comparison of Conscious Model with Exchange Behavior*

Dyad and Direction	Frequency of Material Exchanges	Frequency of Adoption Transactions	Total for Dyad (Material)	Total for Dyad (Adoptions)	Behavior Conforms to Conscious Model (Material)	Behavior Conforms to Conscious Model (Adoptions)
8. Kui-Mokopuna	1	0	0	0	0	0
Mokopuna-Kui	1	0				

* All figures in percentages. Frequency based on 267 material exchanges and 81 adoption transactions.
** (I) indicates ideal model.

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73: Morton E-5 (1970-1971) 1977 009 Tonga 009 Puke

602 in adoption.
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Dyad three is another instance where the ideal flow of goods does not predominate. No adoption transactions involved principals in this relationship. With a slightly higher frequency of exchange, dyad number four is very similar to dyad three.

Dyad five is another relationship where a high frequency of exchange is implied by the conscious model but is not present in the behavior pattern. The flow of goods appears to be balanced in this relationship. The flow of children in the adoption transactions does conform to the direction specified in the ideal model, with 5 percent of adoptees being obtained from 'BC' and none being obtained from 'FZ'.

Transactions transpiring between siblings of the same sex are presented in dyad six, and the exchange of goods again indicates that the conscious model is not being followed. In the adoption sample, 3 percent of the adoptees were obtained from matrilateral cousins and none were obtained from patrilateral cousins; this does conform to the conscious model. Direction of exchange is not specified for children of the same parents and sex.

Again in dyad seven the direction of exchange of goods does not conform to the conscious model. However, in the adoption transactions the conformity of behavior to the specifications of the conscious model is better. In dyad nine no direction is specified and there is a low frequency of exchange.

In Table 20 all exchanges are recorded as to whether or not they conform to the conscious model. Overall the pattern of behavior does

[See p.114--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 115]

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TABLE 20

Conformity and Non-Conformity to
Conscious Model by Percent

	Conforms	Does Not Conform	Not Specified*	Total
Goods	37	43	20	100
Children	33	43	24	100

* Direction not specified in the conscious model of kinship reciprocity.

602 431 437 183 597 [121] not conform to the direction of flow specified by the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. It is safe to say that knowledge of the conscious model does not allow correct prediction of exchange behavior. This means, then, that the conscious model considered alone improperly describes kinship reciprocity.

602 431 437 593 What can the behavioral pattern tell us about kinship that is in contradistinction to the conscious model and what can it tell us about kinship? The behavioral pattern indicates that a large amount of exchange is taking place between persons related as parent and child or as siblings. In the sample of exchanges of goods 50 percent of the transactions involved principals who stood in one of these two relationships. In the sample of adoptions 89 percent of all transactions [597] were carried out between principals who were either parent and child or siblings. As discussed here the classificatory relationships are not included; therefore, a very small proportion of kinsmen are accounting for a high proportion of exchanges.

This relativly small group of kinsmen would roughly be about nine individuals. I am calculating this figure by considering that Tongan [162] women tend to have seven children (Fiefia 1968: 18), and adding to that [594] the two parents each individual would have, the average nuclear family would be nine persons. This is the group within which there is a high level of exchange. For each ego nine kinsmen would be at maximum about 10 percent of his total kinsmen, considering that each ego knows of and acknowledges kinship with at least ninety to one hundred kinsmen.

592 594 As described in Chapter III the Tongan household usually consists

592 of a nuclear family and this is the preferred form of household composi-
[594] tion. Also pointed out earlier was the fact that the Tongan household
is the basic unit of production and consumption. It is the physical and
[861] social environment within which Tongans learn behavior and establish
592 patterns of behavior. The pattern of exchange indicates that the rela-
593
431 tionships established within the household and the family of orientation
437 are maintained after the members of the household have dispersed and es-
tablished new households.

594 The emphasis on the nuclear family reflected by the patterns of
178 exchange may be a relatively recent alteration in Tongan life style, an
431
437 alteration that has resulted in a "lag" between the conscious model and
602 the new situation. For instance, the population of Puke as presently
[166] constituted has resulted from recent migrations that tend to break up
kin groupings larger than nuclear families. For the individual resident
of Puke this results in a limited range of kinsmen available with whom
to carry on reciprocity. This means, of course, that the physical dis-
tribution of kinsmen may preclude operation of the conscious model for
certain individuals.

597 Comparing the adoption sample to the sample of goods, exchange also
858 produces information on the overriding solidarity of the nuclear family.
431
437 Children, of course, cannot be compared to goods in terms of value, but
[594] they are resources that can be weighed according to their relative social
importance. Children are by far much more important than goods, and this
is reflected in different patterns of exchange.[1]

592 In the village of Vaini where the adoption sample was obtained.
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1. [For footnote, see p. 123--Analyst]

597 602 125 there were a total of eighty-four adoptions, three of which were cases where non-kin had been principals in the adoption transactions. So 592 602 4 percent of adoption transactions involve non-kinsmen while the comparable percentage for the transfer of goods is 49 percent. As stated 431 437 above 50 percent of the exchanges in the sample involving material items 597 593 were between principals who were parent-child or sibling-sibling. The 431 437 comparable percentage figure for the adoption sample is 89 percent. I [858] interpret this to mean that because children are more important resources than are goods, they circulate within a much smaller, more closely related group.

602 431 437 The other characteristic of the behavior pattern is that transaction in terms of kin categories seems to be balanced rather than either the higher ranking or lower ranking categories being favored. The only explanation for this is that "balance" is an overriding concern in individual strategies, not only as mentioned for relationships between non-kinsmen but also between kinsmen. This situation of "balance" is not [597] present in the adoption sample, but certain demographic factors characteristic of Tongan adoption results in a one-way flow of adoptees that still does not conform to the conscious model.

597 Tongans adopt children as young as possible and young adults will be the persons possessing young children. So in cross generation transfers of children, the principal in the youngest of the two generations will be the donating parent rather than the adopting parent. For instance, in the Fa'e-Tama dyad, fa'e would probably be at the end of her childbearing years or beyond her childbearing years. Tama would be a

121 relative wealth, friendship status, and religious affiliation of potential exchange partners. Obviously a number of variables could be proposed as possible components of a complete decision-making model, but the construction of such a model is beyond the purview of this study.

All of this discussion is speculative and must remain so, but it is appropriate to reconsider some of the discussion in Chapter I. The results of this study are strong confirmation of Levi-Strauss's statement, "For conscious models, which are usually known as 'norms' are by difinition very poor ones (explanation), since they are not intended to explain the phenomena but to perpetuate them" (1968: 281). It also seems that David Bidney's statement is accurate.

> In the sphere of the social sciences and human studies, this ideal truth represents a norm, or goal, of human potentialities, but does not correspond to any actual, historical cultural situation. Here too, cultural ideals are 'social facts' but they are facts of a different order from the empirical facts of a given culture (1955: 218-419).

Summary

602 593 431 439 Tongan behavior in the activity system of exchange is not predictable by knowledge of the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. Instead, the basic characteristic of exchange behavior is reliance upon members of one's family of orientation as a continuing unit for resource sharing. The pattern of behavior also indicates that a balance flow of goods exists between kin categories rather than the one-way flow stipulated by the conscious model.

[114] The results of this study are contrary to the statements made about Tongan kinship reciprocity by Beaglehole and Kaeppler (cited above).

602 593 431 437 114 These authors apparently assumed that the conscious model of kinship reciprocity was an accurate summary of exchange behavior. Such a conclusion should only be made after checking the fit between behavior and the model.

121 Conscious models do not necessarily reflect behavior as they may not function to order empirical phenomena but rather establish order at another level of reality. Conscious models order the mind and its perception of the empirical world, not the empirical world itself.

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651 The period of the 'Inasi was a time when all work on Tongatapu ceased
796 (Thomas MS. 5: 20). During the nine-day period of the ceremony,
singing, dancing, and games took place (Ibid.; Wilson 1799: 259;
[782] Mariner 1817, II: 207-215). This was all part of the religious aspect
involving the giving of thanks to the gods and the acknowledgement of
[565] their powers. The products brought to the Mu'a area were redistributed
[793] among the chiefs and priests of the various deities, including the
[643] Tu'i Tonga representative of the deity Hikuleo.
[437]

127 The following description from an eyewitness of the 1797-1800
175 period clarifies the interrelationship between chiefs and deities:
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> Their deities are numerous; and there is reason to think their prejudices are strong. Every district has its own deity; and each family of note has one, whom they consider as their own particular patron. The deities of the districts are, on certain occasions, represented by several chiefs of those districts; so that their natches and other annual exhibitions are not mere public amusements but religious observances, whereon they think the lives and health of their chiefs, for whom they have great affection, entirely depend; as likewise the prosperity of the country in general: expecting the succeeding crop will be in proportion to the offering made at these times. They have two natches in the year, one when their yams are set, to procure the favour of futtafaihe; and the other when they gather them in, expressive of their gratitude [stress added] (W. Smith 1813: 155).

127 Smith's description of the two "natches" or 'Inasi 'ufimui and 'Inasi
[796] [65] 'ufimotu'a corroborates what Thomas later wrote concerning the two
ceremonies. The description that each Tongan "family of note" has a
[776] deity "whom they consider as their particular patron" helps to clarify
the significance of the Takai-Fae relationship discussed earlier on the
hikitanga (see pages 71-76).

where European institutions such as life insurance, workman's compensation, social security, and freehold land are not available.

Although the primary function of the agricultural system is to provide for the Tongan family's everyday subsistence needs, a secondary function, which at times takes on major importance, is to provide the owner with products to be used, either directly or indirectly, in fulfilling his social obligations, both to his kinsmen and to the society as a whole. Accordingly, although European goods and cash are being increasingly used, exchanges or presentations of traditional Tongan products, such as fine mats, tapa cloth, yams, pigs, kava, and sugar cane, are still the predominant means of maintaining such ties. In order to gain a better understanding of their inter-relationship with the agricultural system, a brief description and analysis of the well-ordered ties within the Tongan society is necessary. These ties or obligations fall into two general classes: kinship ties and social ties. The following treatment of Tongan social structure is based on the author's personal observations and works by Gifford (1927), Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1938), Nayacakalou (1959), Maude (1965), Aoyagi (1966), Latukefu (1967), Kaeppler (1971), and Morton (1972).

Kinship Ties

The most common Tongan terms denoting personal kind-

602 593 554 562 [612] [592]

to her male siblings, in matters pertaining to leadership and inheritance, males generally take precedence. Accordingly, the head of the household is generally the oldest male and is referred to as the tangata 'eiki (chiefly man), and the highest ranking member of the larger kin group, kainga or famili, is generally the oldest male in the senior male line and is referred to as the 'ulumotu'a (the elderly head) or sometimes the ulu'ifamili (head of the family). In some cases, however, the oldest sister, because of her superior rank, will be regarded as the ulu'motu'a or ulu'-ifamili.

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In cases of inheritance, however, the right of primogeniture within the patrilineal group prevails. For example, if a man dies, his eldest son or sometimes his younger brother will inherit his title, land, and other possessions A man can inherit matrilineally only if his mother has no brothers and, in effect, inherits from his mother's father. This system of kinship ties establishes a network of interrelationships which governs a person's social behavior within the kainga thoughout his lifetime.

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602 437 602 592 [612] [178]

Among kinsmen, these ties still provide the main basis for redistribution and exchange of products from the traditional agricultural system. On the household level, these ties are operative on a day-to-day basis. Among the larger kin group, however, the kainga, the position of 'ulumotu'a is more ceremonial than it was in the past. Since the Consti-

602 612 178 [592] [554] [177] tution of 1875, the household has assumed greater importance than the kainga with respect to land tenure and economic activity. Weakening of the kainga has also been brought about by European contact and increased focus on individualism, strength of personality, resourcefulness, and education or wealth in the determination of social ranking.

602 437 Nevertheless, kinship ties provide a major impetus for the redistribution of products from the agricultural system within the kin group. The most salient exchanges are those 602 437 476 [431] which take place during ceremonial occasions, such as births, baptisms, marriages, and funerals, where different kinsmen contribute labor, food, or make presentations of fine mats, tapa, kava, and other traditional goods of high social value. Apart from ceremonial exchanges, there is also a constant flow of labor, food, and other commodities 602 437 554 throughout the kin group. Although the direction is often from lower ranking members to higher ranking members, there is also considerable flow in the opposite direction.

Social Ties

571 554 Ties which help define the role of the individual within the broader context of Tongan society include some pertaining to the traditional system of rank and status and other more contemporary ties related to the church, the government, and the village.

565 554 Tongan society is traditionally a stratified hierarchy of royalty and commoners. The royalty or high chiefs (eiki,

423 schools, egalitarian principles are gaining wider accept-
427 ance and if presentations are to be made to the nobles,
565 they are generally made during ceremonial occasions. How-
178 ever, there are a number of nobles who have as yet not
651 granted permanent tenure to tenants on their land and con-
tinue to exact tribute in the form of cash or produce for
the privilege of tenure.

554 Apart from the nobility, the positions of matapule,
town officers and district officers, artisans, ministers,
schoolteachers, and successful entrepreneurs, all demand
[437] certain respect. In order to maintain a favourable social
atmosphere, reciprocal exchanges of money, food, or labor
are made between these individuals and their constituencies.

182 In summary, it must be stressed that these social ties,
571 as well as the previously described kinship ties, provide
602 the basis for cohesion in the Tongan society. Not only do
these set up vast networks of both unilateral and bilateral
exchanges of cash, food, and services, but they also provide
the basis for the political system, land tenure, and the
565 organization of labor. At the present time, the titles of
178 chiefs, particularly nobles, still carry great social,
economic, and political power. Similarly, the nuclear
178 family, the broader kin group, and the village still play a
602 major role with the social and economic life of the average
571 Tongan. However, with increasing exposure to other
[177] cultures, a continuing influence of the church, and an
[182]

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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L.M.S. missionaries and a Captain Thompson had sent him a letter reminding him of the murderous attacks that Tongans had made on ships and advising him against taking his wife and child. 797

Both before and after Lawry left, there was much interest in Sydney in his mission. Governor Brisbane generously gave him seven sheep, seven cows, and a bull. *The Sydney Gazette* published long accounts of Tongatapu from the reports that Lawry sent back.

On 16 August 1822 the ship reached Ma'ofanga, Tongatapu. Here Lawry was met by William Singleton, a survivor of the *Port-au-Prince*, who had been living with the Tongans for sixteen years. Though he had adopted some Tongan habits he was generally helpful to Lawry. Lawry lent Singleton a copy of John Wesley's *Sermons* in his desire that the old sailor might be converted through reading them! 563 [797]

On 22 August Lawry came ashore at Mu'a and met Fatu, or Palau, as Lawry always called him. This chief, "the stoutest man I ever saw" (Lawry said), was the son of Mulikiha'amea, Tu'i Ha'atakalaua, killed in 1799, and was the father of the first Tungi. Palau proved friendly for most of Lawry's stay in Mu'a. He gave him six acres of land for a house and garden, in return for one saw, one plane and five chisels. Palau was probably affected by the solemn words of a priest adjuring him and his people not to harm the missionary because his god "had told him that Tonga would suffer grievously if this happened".(7) 797 622 609 [437]

St. Michael sailed away on 30 October, taking two "handsome and ponderous" Tongans; Lawry thought that this would help to secure the return of the ship. 797

The missionary began with sanguine thoughts of a ready response from the people. He believed that Tonga had returned to a state of peace after many years of warfare; in this he was incorrect for fighting broke out in 'Eua and elsewhere soon after he came. [669]

On 8 September he recorded his first sermon-texts, Matthew ix. 36 and Matthew xxviii. 18-20. Over-optimistic as he was inclined to be, he was planning future missions in Fiji and Samoa when he had not won a single convert in Tonga. Soon, however, he became down-hearted and disillusioned; the Tongans' whole lives, he wrote, were "a mass of corruption". Before *St. Michael* sailed away there was a plot to kill Singleton because he had prevented the Tongans from getting articles out of the ship.(8) Pilfering was a constant problem. A later statement summed up Lawry's opinion: 797 609

> "Every day's experience serves to convince me that these natives are not in love with us but with our property." (9)

With the country itself, its luxuriant vegetation and the bountiful supplies of food available, Lawry was delighted. With the people it was otherwise. Their unceremonious entry at all hours into the rooms occupied by Lawry and his wife was vexatious. "We are exposed to the obtrusive and vulgar stare of the Indians" (as Lawry called the Tongans). Conditions improved slightly when seven months had passed and a native dwelling, with its swarms of rats, lizards and vermin, had been exchanged for the mission house, erected by Lilly, Tindall and Wright, with indifferent assistance from the easy-going people. "Cokevernal" was the name Lawry gave to the mission property, in honour of Thomas Coke, "Prince of missionaries, our late venerable father".

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434 brought him a profit of £T 75 (about 700 German marks).

181 In the villages of the small Tonga Islands almost every group having
264 a meal together will invite one or more passersby to eat with them;
594 the guest is given the best, and at the larger festivals which, since the "democratization," have moved more within the commoners' realm (private persons, kautaha or cooperative labor pools, and churches as organizers), they usually do not economize in expenses.

181 European influence has been able to change but little their
177 general good nature and hospitality, especially since life in the villages has remained easy and carefree. Yet the influx of money is
181 to be observed. On the small islands there are relatively few
177 natives who /20/ hand over to their fellow villagers the products of
184 their plantations and other goods for money, (11)
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11. Often they exchange value for value, for example a length of tapa for a pig. However, giving without direct quid pro quo, this old system of Tongan community life (a perpetual assurance of reciprocity) is still, on an island like Nomuka, more frequent than barter; it is practiced mostly in the Ha'apai group, less in Tongatapu and Vava'u, and seems rather suppressed in places like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu.

and they are generally felt to be outsiders in the community. In places like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu, on the other hand, there are many of them and there, in the gradually urbanized settlements with European commercial enterprises, selling is taken for granted among the Tongans.
181 Yet business acumen is little developed among these natives. (12)
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12. For example, Tongans who help the "medicine dispenser" on the plantations of Nomuka would rather accept a packet of tobacco than a seven shillings wage per day, though in the shops of the same island they have no

/243 cont./

000 pineapples.

436 178 The natives have become well accustomed to the significance and use of money, since they take for granted shopping even in places where Tongans own the trading stations. Here no one tries /to invoke/ [425] the old system of "asking something without direct return service"; [437] the established prices of the shopkeepers are paid without demur, nor [435] is there any bargaining or dickering.

434 432 436 The Tongans use the money they have earned mainly to buy fabric for clothing and readymade clothing, oil to burn, soap, matches, tobacco, canned mean and fish, flour, sugar, housewares and tools, to pay land rent and taxes and to contribute to churches. Usually the native spends his money rapidly. For example, if he has received 20£T. for delivering copra, he often immediately buys 10 to 15£T. worth of the aforementioned items and sometimes also things for which he has no particular use. After a while, he has made more copra and the process is repeated. Many Tongans regularly spend all their money, knowing that they will presently produce more copra and 436 earn money anew. How could they have the European concept of money [177] when there is no dependence on it here and all the customary and usually necessary European calculation is completely unknown to most Tongans. They can also live on /the products of/ their plantations 425 426 and the sea, and if they can no longer put off payments due on their 436 pole tax and land rent or the purchase of a new article of clothing, 178 they may ask for the required sum, according to their old custom, from a relative or a neighbor and--especially on the small islands-- there is scarcely anyone who will, without special reason, break with the old system of "anticipated reciprocity" and leave such a 426 wish unfulfilled. Often they do indeed regard such money as borrowed 436 and return it after a time; but if the debtor completely forgets to 178